AN IMPARTIAL

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

Advantages and Losses

THAT

ENGLAND

Hath received

Since the Beginning of this Present WAR

WITH

FRANCE.

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I Undertake to prove in this Paper demonstratively, That there must be as much or more Money now in *England*, as was before the War, notwithstanding the great Sums that must needs have been issued out for the maintaining of our Forces in *Flanders*, or of our Alliances abroad, or for any other expences or losses made upon the account of this War; by shewing that *France* did draw before the War vast Sums of Money, beyond all comparison much greater than those that are issued out of *England* at this day; and which are now lessened by means of the new Manufactures establish'd, or settled in this Kingdom since the War: and also by reason that we have far greater advantages of all the Productions and old Manufactures of *England*, than we had before the War began, and a better Trade in some respects with several Foreign Nations. And then afterwards I shall examine the Objections raised about the Losses we suffer by the decay of Trade, occasion'd by *French* Men of War, or Privateers, or by the Money that may be sent into *France* by some to King *James*. I will also endeavour to lay open what may be the true reason of the complaints of some Shopkeepers, who say, they sell less and see less Money now than before, and do impute it to scarcity of Money. And then afterwards I intend to shew so far as the matter is capable of a demonstration, That there must needs issue out of *France* six times

more Money every year, without any return, than there does out of *England*, and ſet forth the ways by which this comes about.

1. It is well known that at preſent a very ſmall quantity of *French* Silks is imported, and that inſtead thereof, a greater quantity is made in *England* than formerly. I will not determine upon the exact quantity of that Commodity which we brought out of that Country before the War; but I dare very well aſſure my Reader, That the value was near a Million of Pounds Sterling, and that if all the Silk, wrought and worn in theſe three Kingdoms, and the *Engliſh* Plantations, did now come from *France*, as the greateſt part of it did formerly, it would amount to above two Millions of Pounds. For 'tis obſervable, That here in *England* the meaneſt Women, and even Children of poor People, are in ſome meaſure cloathed from head to foot therewith. Now granting this reaſonable opinion of the moſt intelligent men, That the Three Nations, with the *American* Plantations, contain Ten Millions of Subjects, and ſuppoſing that each perſon, one with another, may expend to the value of five ſhillings Annually in Silks, plain or flowr'd (which is the moſt modeſt computation) it would come to Two Millions Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds Sterling. It cannot be denyed, but this Manufacture is very much augmented in *England*, ſince the War, which otherwiſe, in all probability, would not have been; and it is much to be feared, theſe advantages may be revived to the *French*, whenever a Peace ſhall be reſtored to them, unleſs timely prevented by ſome Law or Statute. 'Tis well known that the Refugees have lately ſet up the Manufacture of Lute-ſtrings.

2. Does not this War likewiſe ſave us the expence of many Hundred Thouſand Pounds, which were formerly exported for modiſh Stuffs of Gold and Silver, for Galloons, Fringes, Embroydries, Laces, and other Gold and Silver works of *French* Manufacture, which are now made in *England*? I ſpeak only of what we ſave yearly in relation to the Faſhion: for as to the materials of Gold or Silver, of which they were compoſed, they are for the moſt part as abſolutely loſt, as if our Money were ſtill exported to *France*, or thrown into the Sea, which every year amounts to vaſt Sums.

3. *French*

3. *French* Points I ſhall not much inſiſt on, becauſe before the War, the uſe of them was in great meaſure left off. But when in Vogue, that piece of vanity did coſt us Annually many Hundred Thouſand Pounds.

4. But we muſt not forget the incredible Sums the importation of other Thread and Silk-laces, Ribbons, Silkgalloons, Tapes and Gimp, *&c.* did coſt us.

5. What Treaſures have the *French* gained from us, for *French* Linnen of all ſorts? and for Gawſes, Tickings, Canvas, Buckram, Oyl-Cloth, Linnen-Thread; I may modeſtly aver above Eight Hundred Thouſand Pounds Yearly. It muſt be confeſſed, that great quantities of Linnen-Cloth are ſtill imported, but out of other Countries, and not from our Enemies; and we have reaſon to hope the Linnen-Manufacture here ſet up, may in time, be ſufficient to furniſh this Kingdom.

6. It is well known alſo, that they have ſold us ſeveral Woollen Manufactures (a thing much to be wondred at) as Serges, Druggets, and ſome other ſuch things, which were brought hither from *Amiens*, *Chaalons*, *Rheims*, *Niſmes*, *Cartres*, and other places in *France*, all which are now made here.

7. How many Hundred Thouſand Pounds *per annum* did they draw from hence, for Cordage, Cables, Sail-cloth, Fiſhing-Nets? I muſt confeſs thoſe Commodities are now brought from other Countries; but as I before mentioned, our Enemy gets nothing by it. Beſides, theſe Nations are in part paid with our Commodities: whereas the *French* were for the moſt part paid in Money; becauſe, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter, they took very few of our Commodities in Exchange.

8. What prodigious quantity of Wine, Brandy, Vinegar, Verjuice, was poured in Exchange upon us from *France?* which is now much leſſened; though, to ſay the truth, too much of ſuch Merchandiſes are ſtill brought from other places; eſpecially Wines. But we are fallen into a way of making Brandy of Beer, Cyder, and Meloſſes as alſo abundance of Vinegar. I believe I may affirm, That theſe laſt mentioned *French* Wares did coſt *England* yearly Eight Hundred Thouſand Pounds: half of which Sum is now ſpared: beſides what *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and the Plantations did ſpend of them.

9. Great

9. Great quantities alſo of Window-Glaſſes were imported from *France*, (eſpecially ſince the Fire of *London*) which did coſt ſome Hundred Thouſand Pounds yearly, (according to the relation of Merchants) but now we have enough of our own, and pretty good made here.

10. Before the War, we imported alſo abundance of *French* Hats, notwithſtanding the Prohibition, as Bevers, Demi-Caſtors, Codebecks and other Hats. Now there is not only enough made here to ſupply the Three Kingdoms and the Plantations, but to ſend abroad alſo.

11. Great quantity of Caſtile-Soap was formerly brought from *France*, now made here.

12 We had likewiſe from thence great parcels of Leather dreſſed in Oyl, the Refugees have alſo brought this Manufacture into *England*; and we furniſh not only the Three Kingdoms and Plantations, but Foreign Countries with it.

13. As alſo the Manufacture of Box and Tortoiſe-Combs, which we formerly had from *France*.

14. We likewiſe took off from the *French*, great quantities of all ſorts of Paper; ſome being now made at Home, though a great deal be brought ſtill from abroad. But it is alwayes to be hoped. If the Manufacture of Linnen-Cloath come to perfection, that of the Paper may likewiſe flouriſh; which will ſave to *England* large Sums.

15. Let us not forget the great quantities of Houſe-hold Goods that were alſo imported from *France*, as Hangings, Beds, Quilts, Matreſſes, Coverlets, Wollen-Fringe, wrought Chairs, Cabinets, Caſes, Coffers and Trunks, *&c.* Which did coſt us vaſt Summs.

16. Did not we alſo import great quantities of Salt from thence, for the three Kingdoms, more than Six or Seven Hundred Ships load every year, as appears by the Cuſtom-houſe Books? which amounted to great Sums, inſtead of which we can make enough now for our own expence, and of ſo good quality, I judge, as to forbear for the future, that of *France*.

17. What a deal of Fruit was brought hither from that Country? An able and experienced Merchant hath aſſured me, that in Prunes only, *England* hath annually expended above Fifty Thouſand Pounds.

Beſides

Beſides great quantities of Apples and Pears, bak'd and raw, Comfits, Nuts, Oyl, Olives, Almonds, Raiſins of the Sun, Capers, Figgs, Honey, Saffron, Anchoves, *&c.* All which amounted to great Summs.

18. Many other kinds of ſmall Wares, as Skins perfumed, and not perfumed for the making Gloves; as Skins of Sheep, Kids, and Dogs, eſteemed better from that Country, than our own; Rozin, Cork, *&c.*

19. Several ſorts of Eſſences, Perfumes, Hungary-Water, Orvietan, Waſh-Balls, perfuming-Pots, Paſtiles *&c.* Abundance of our Money was carried away for theſe things.

20. As alſo great quantities of Verdigreaſe, which the *French* begin to make here. They make likewiſe here at preſent abundance of Cotton-cloaths painted.

21. We got alſo formerly great quantities of falſe Pearls for Neck-Laces from *France*, which are now made here.

22. Many thick Stockins mill'd, that are called *bas de S. Maixent*, were alſo imported from *France*, and are now made here.

23. Would not one wonder that from *Paris* only the value of one Hundred Thouſand Pounds, and above, in Perriwigs, ſhould be ſent yearly hither? as ſome able intelligent Perriwigmakers of *Paris*, now in *London*, can atteſt. Whereof, for the moſt part, there was no notice taken at the Cuſtom-houſe.

24. Who can compute the infinite number of other toyes and trifles, (whereof a Man might make ſeveral Articles of great expence to this Nation) which we drew from thence, and though things, for the moſt part of no uſe, exhauſted much of our treaſure; Notwithſtanding the moſt part of theſe things might be as eaſily made in *England* as there. That we may in ſome manner, conceive the number of them, we muſt know that there are many hundred different kinds of Manufactures ſmall and great, wherein the *French* excelled, or had the reputation: or elſe ſold them cheaper than we did, which, howſoever, the *Engliſh* would rather have, than what was made in their own Country. For example, Masks, Muffs, Fans, Caps, Hatbands, Hoods, Belts, Girdles, Palatines, Looking-Glaſſes of a Hundred ſorts, Feathers for Hats and Caps; dreſſing-Boxes,

Bruſhes,

Bruſhes, Caſſets, Stands, Pictures inamel'd and painted, and all others; Sculptures, Gravings in Gold and Silver, Braſs, Ivory; Watches, Bracelets, Tablets, Cheſt-boards, ſmall Tables, Tables to play at Dice, *&c.*

25. Cards, Needles, Pins, ſeveral ſorts of Gloves perfumed and others, Medals, Counters of various ſorts, fine purſes, dreſſing cloaths, holy Beads for *Ireland.*

26. A grea quantity of Ironmongers Wares of all kinds.

27. Several ſorts of Chirurgeons Inſtruments, and Tools for the cutting and dreſſing of Trees, Scizzars, many Wire and Spring works.

28. Several Gold and Silver Veſſels, which were better made in *France*, than here, as Gold and Silver-Boxes, Tweezers with Tooth-Pickers, Silver Ink-horns, Spoons, Forks, Snuffers, Handles, and Hilts for Swords, of Gold and Silver, Seals graved, fine Diamonds ready ſet, Diamonds of the Temple, Tobacco and Snuff-Boxes of a Hundred ſorts, ſome whereof for the ſole graving coſt Thirty or Forty Piſtoles, Gold and Silver Buttons, Buckles, Sleeve-Buttons *&c.*

29. A great many Inſtruments of Muſick of all ſorts; Hair-Powder, Sealing Waxes and others, Gilt-Paper, and what not? even to the very Paint and Patches for Ladies. What great quantities of Buttons made of Linnen-Thread, Silk, Hair, Glaſs, Braſs, Jet; of Shooe-Buckles, *&c.*

30. What a world of other Trinkets of Steel, Wood, Iron, Braſs, Copper, Ivory, Horn, Leather, Hair, *&c.* Who can imagine or number up thoſe numberleſs baubles, which put altogether amounted to vaſt Sums, whereof the Cuſtom-houſe Officers took no Cognizance, being conveyed either in the Male Packet, or in the Travellers Pocket.

31. Swords of various ſorts, Piſtols, Guns and other Arms.

32. Saddles, Houſſes, Holſters, all Embroidered, Scarfs of Gold and Silver, Boots, *&c.*

32. What a deal of *French* Books, Plays, Romances, Hiſtories and Storys, Geographick Cartes, were we glutted withal. When the *Engliſh* travelled there, in their return they ſeldom failed of bringing quantities of thoſe things, ſome of which were good for nothing,

nothing, than to corrupt the manners of this Nation. Some *Engliſh* Gentlemen, and Perſons of Quality, upon returning home, have brought with them, in thoſe kind of things, to the value of ſome Hundred Pounds Sterling.

33. What expence was every Year made in Patterns or Faſhions for all ſorts of works, for Furniture, Apparel, and Cloaths, from *France*; which made a great Trade of it, drawing advantage from the weakneſſes and folly of other Nations; in order to which, ſhe altered the Mode often; Thoſe Mods were commonly invented by ſome ſcandalous People in *France*, and firſt followed, by People of the ſame order in *England*, and ſo ſpread throughout the Nation, *ſicut grex totus in agris unius ſcabie cadit*; One Scabby Sheep commonly infects the whole Flock. Hence ſprang thoſe Fantaſtical Dreſſes of Top-knots and Bridles, *alias Fontanges* and *Maintenons*, which our Women have with that greedineſs adopted. Not a Workman here, but thought his Reputation in danger if he had not a Model for every piece of work, which related to his Profeſſion. The Court governed by ſuch as had ***French* Hearts**, favoured, and gave ſcope to all thoſe follies for the more effectual corrupting this Nation, and pleaſing *France*, which, in that reſpect, did look upon us *Engliſh*, as their abject and ſervile Tributaries. So that the Roades were always full of Trades People, coming or going to *France*, upon the account of New-Faſhions. Some indiſcreet Gentlemen and Ladies were ſo Nice as to have all their Cloathing brought here ready made from *France*, even to their very Shooes, as if the People of this Iſland had no capacity for making of theſe things.

34. 'Tis incredible alſo, what Money was ſpent in the carriage of thoſe Fripperies, and in the Poſtage of Letters written on theſe trifling accounts; the profit of which remained to the *French*. Let any indifferent Reader judge, what prodigious ſums of Money were loſt in thoſe trifles every year, which the War and Neceſſity have taught us make at home. But I will take the liberty to ſay, that it is much to be feared, that if great caution be not taken, many of thoſe things may be fetcht again from *France*, after a Peace, by reaſon of that inveterate and perverſe cuſtom this Nation hath ſo long laboured under; and wherewith the Women ſpecially are ſo infect-

ed, as to think their Money never well beſtowed, but in ſuch things as come from thence; And moreover, there are ſo many loytering and lazy People, who without working lived and enriched themſelves with that Trade, ſo ruinous and fatal to this Nation, and who are ſtrangely diſpleaſed to ſee all thoſe Manufactures ſet up in this Kingdom, in regard they ſold the *French* Commodities, Toyes and Modes at their own Rates. Beſides the New-Manufactures that have been eſtabliſhed or ſetled in *England* ſince the War, there are many old Trades and Arts, that are every day brought to greater perfection, I do not pretend to name them all, but only to give ſome inſtances; As for example, Men's Shoes are better made, as alſo Boots for the Army; Men and Women's Cloathing likewiſe; Swords and their Hilts. Guns, Piſtolls, Gun-Powder; ſeveral works of Silk, that are every day refined; Several ſorts of Dies, or Dyings; confects; Perriwigs; I am told alſo that ſome ſorts of Leather are better Tanned; Women's-Gloves alſo better made; ſeveral ſorts of Linnen-Dreſſes; the Books better bound, Marbled, and Gilded than before; Geographick Cartes better likewiſe; Perfuming is better; Embroidering of all ſorts better; Women's-Fans better made and Painted; Engraving and Braſs-cuts better; all Gold and Silver works neater; the ſet of Diamonds better; all ſorts of works in general better Gilded; Candles are better and whiter. Window-Glaſſes and Looking-Glaſſes better; Purcellan and all other ſorts of Earthen-Veſſels better made now; Vinegar is alſo better; ſeveral works of Gold and Silver-Thread likewiſe better made now than before the War. And many other things beſides.

36. War brings alſo this advantage with it, That *France* is fruſtrated of thoſe great ſupplies of our Wooll, wherewith (notwithſtanding our prohibiting Laws) She ſo much abounded during the peace; tho' (to the ſhame of ſome amongſt us) it muſt be acknowledged, that ſtill too much is conveyed thither; which, as it hath not a little contributed to the Eſtabliſhment of a Woollen Manufacture in that Nation; ſo hath it no leſs haſtned the decay thereof in this Kingdom, inſomuch that they had not only ſufficient quantity to ſtore themſelves with, but grew ſo plentiful in thoſe kind of Wares, as (in time of Peace) to furniſh ſeveral other places, as *Italy*, *Spain*,

Spain, and *Portugal*; nay, the very Source, *England* it ſelf; for it is well known, that great quantity of Woollen Manufactures were brought hither, wrought and finiſhed in that Country, which imployed great Numbers of their People, whileſt our Artificers wanting buſineſs, began to fall into Poverty, their Trade daily decreaſing, or totally ſinking, inſtead of being Vigorous and Flouriſhing, as when the *French* were furniſhed from *England* with Woollen Commodities. For the better comprehending how prejudicial this hath proved to us, and how advantagious to *France*, let us conſider that one Pound of unwrought-Wooll is worth 6, 8, 10. and 12 times as much, when the Manufacture thereof compoſed, is totally finiſhed, as it was before; which ſo much ſupports and enables, as well the Manufacturers, as ſuch as employ them, and increaſe the Duties of Importation and Exportation to that Government where they are wrought; ſo that ſuppſiong the *French* did draw to the value of Fifty Thouſand Pounds yearly in unwrought *Engliſh* Wooll (it is certain they draw much more than that) the Production of that will be 6, 8, 10, and 12 times as much Money. After its being made up in Stockins, Blankets, Druggets, Serges, or Cloath.

37. The ſame thing may be ſaid of Rabbet-Skins, and Hare-Skins, which they fetched out of *England*, in great quantities, for their Manufacture of Hats, which were ſent hither, to *Spain*, *Portugal*, and other Countries, who formerly were furniſhed from this Kingdom.

38. It is not likewiſe probable, that by reaſon of this War, *Ireland* being now reduced, we ſhall draw greater advantages now, than we could during the Peace, by their Cattle, Wooll, Hides, Butter, Tallow, (if any can be ſpared we ſhall reap the benefit of the Freight and Carriage of thoſe things, whether they be brought and (if the Parliament think fit) Manufactured in *England* or whether they be carried elſe where, *Ireland* will expend vaſt quantities of our Merchandizes, which heretofore was ſent from *France:* This advantage will be double in regard, that, in this reſpect, our Enemy will not only be a loſer, but we ſhall be Gainers. Though there was no other benefit, but the preventing *France*, from having ſuch great quantities of *Iriſh* Wool; as they formerly had, yet

the conſequence to us muſt be conſiderable, for the *French* bought that Wool at an eaſy Rate, and paid them in Wine, Brandy, Salt, and ſuch other Wares of that Country; by this means they obtain'd abundance of Wooll, ſufficient, not only for their own Manufactures, but even to furniſh other Countrys cheaper than we could. This advanc'd their Cuſtoms, and more and more enabled them to ruin our Commerce from Port to Port, and to augment their Maritime Force. Moreover, they did fetch from that Iſland, ſuch incredible quantites of Butter, Cheeſe, Beef, at ſo cheap a price, as enabled the *French* Artificers to work for ſmaller Wages; and conſequently their Merchants, to under-ſell us; as likewiſe by Victualling their Ships at a cheaper Rate; much to the Deſtruction of our Navigation. But now, we ſupply *Ireland* with Furniture of all ſorts, Iron-Mongers Wares, Hats, Stockins, Gloves, Ribbons, Buttons, Sugar, Tobacco, Wines, Vinegar, Strong-Waters, Dying Stuffs, Silks, Galloons, Woollen and Fine Linnen-Cloath, Hops, Beer, Spices and Druggs; with a great number of other ſmall Merchandizes, both for neceſſity and Ornament; which being formerly wholly carried thither from *France*, was a notorious prejudice to us, and very much contributed to the enormous growth of the *French* Power.

39. It is apparent alſo, that ſince the War, our Commerce with the *Scotch* is in a great meaſure increaſed; that Country taking off from us much of the ſame Commodities which I mentioned when I diſcourſed of *Ireland*, which formerly were imported from *France*. I confeſs that in exchange for many things of the growth of *Scotland*, the *Hollanders* do in part furniſh them alſo.

40. Neither muſt we forget the advantages, which by reaſon of this War, we reap from the induſtry of the Inhabitants of *Jerſey* and *Guernſy*: which is not ſo inconſiderable, as it is generally thought. For you muſt know, that this diligent people, though they fetch all their Wooll from *England*, yet after it was converted into wares, they carried them into *France*. So that it was *France* that in time of Peace had the profit of our Woolls, and of the Labour of that People, who gained no more than a livelihood, receiving in lieu of their Manufactures, *French* Wares and Proviſions: ſo that when the

the Duties of exporting and importing were ſatisfied, they had little reaſon to boaſt of their gain. Inſtead of which the Goods made there of our Wooll, are brought now hither, and diſpoſed amongſt us in exchange of ſuch Merchandize as they have occaſion for; ſo that 'tis no wonder if *France* during the War, diſturbes not the repoſe of thoſe Iſlands, whoſe Wealth ſhe drains away in time of Peace, without being at the expence of protecting them.

41. I preſume that no conſidering perſon will doubt that in many other reſpects our Trade is better now than before the War: For example, as to *Spain*, and *Portugal*, by reaſon of the great quantities of Manufactures they draw from *France* during the Peace, which is diſcontinued not only in relation to freedom of Trade, but principally, in regard that their Manufactories, which before the War were in a flouriſhing condition, are now much decayd, partly by reaſon of that Kingdoms being ſo much depopulated, and of the incredible poverty of thoſe poor wretches in that Kingdom; and partly for want of materials, as Wooll, raw Silk, Rabbit Skins, *&c.* for which they were beholding to other Countries, whereof they made an infinite quantity of woollen Stuffs, Silks, Hats and other Merchandizes, wherewith they ſupplied a great part of *Europe*, as I ſaid before. But now through occaſion of the Perſecution in *France*, their Manufactories have been communicated to *England*, and by this War more firmly ſetled there: and by this means we are in a capacity of furniſhing, and we do actually furniſh *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Italy*, *Turky*, and many Iſlands in the *Mediterranean* Sea, with far greater quantities of our Manufactures than we did before. I except this Year that has been unlucky. For, God be thanked, our Merchants want neither Materials, Artiſts nor Money to carry on their Trade: and as to *Spain*, there is reaſon to hope that that State will for the future play their game better than formerly, by prohibiting all their Subjects to have any Commerce with *France* directly or indirectly; Then, by this means we ſhall find occaſion to tranſport far greater quantities of our Commodities to thoſe parts of the *Weſt-Indies* belonging to *Spain*: *Spain* cannot find a more efficacious method for the humbling of *France* than by

doing

doing this, and confiſcating abſolutely (thereby to retaliate in part the barbarous practices of that Enemy) all the *French* Effects ; for in ſuch a caſe the lenity is a piece great of cruelty, as well againſt the *Spaniſh* Nation, as againſt all its Enemies.

42. It is plain, that we export alſo much more of our Manufactures into *Germany*, *Denmark*, *Sweeden*, *Poland*, &c. than we did before the War : becauſe the ſame kind of Merchandizes that we ſupply them with now, were formerly ſent thither by the *French*. I do not inſiſt ſo much upon the importation we make of all their Commodities, no more than that on which we make from other Countries, becauſe commonly too much is imported of all ſorts from all Countries ; and tho Importation is the leſs profitable part of the Trade of a Nation, tho I confeſs the Exportation cannot well ſubſiſt without Importation.

43. Every body knows, That our Trade with the *Dutch* and *Spaniſh Netherlands* is far greater now than ever it was, and that they draw ten times more of our Commodities of all ſorts than they did formerly : I ſay every body knows it, therefore I ſhall not inſiſt on't. But only ſay this, That it is probable more Money is returned from thence to *England* for the prodigious quantity of our Commodities, they get more uſually than is remitted thither for the payment of our Army.

44. Neither were the miſchiefs that attended that counterfeit Peace we had with *France*, confined to thoſe diſadvantages I have already mentioned concerning the Trade we had with them. What ſhall we ſay then of the deſtructive cuſtom of travelling into *France* by the Nobility and Gentry of theſe three Kingdoms. I will not determine upon the exact ſum of that luxurious expence : but if I ſay that *France* by thoſe Journies of Curioſity received yearly of our Money at leaſt one Million of Pounds Sterling, I do not exceed the bounds of moderation ; but I refer it to the judgment of all men to determine according to their own ſentiments, and if they pleaſe to reduce the probable expences of thoſe Travellers to one half, it will be ſtill a mighty Sum, which we ſave now. But leaſt I may be accuſed of a raſh, and unreaſonable aggravation, I ſhall offer what follows to your conſideration. Suppoſe then that before this

this War there were continually in *France* of the Natives of theſe Kingdoms eight thouſand Perſons, and that taking one with another, Maſter with Servant, the expence of each might be one hundred pounds yearly; for whoever conſiders the humour of the generality of the people of theſe Iſlands, who of late years would hardly allow any to be well bred, if they had not made their *Tour* in *France*, and reſided there for ſome time; though the accompliſhments of too many ended in the affectation of gaudineſs and levity, inſtead of their innate Sobriety, and in the management of an amorous intrigue, ſometimes with a witneſs, inſtead of the prudent obſervation of the Policies of the Country: I ſay, whoever will conſider of the prodigious number of *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh* who ſpeak *French*, and who have been in *France*, either upon their own account or as Attendants upon others (without including ſuch whoſe Military or merchandizing employments obliged their reſiding there) muſt be convinced that the number always there could be no leſs than eight thouſand; in many of the great Towns of that Kingdom they were ſwarming; moſt of the Roads crowded by their numbers, either riding Poſt, or with the Meſſenger, or in Coaches from one Town to another: The Univerſities and Academies of that Kingdom were full of them; ſeveral Women got the trick of going thither under pretence of recovering their Healths, for their diverſion, with their whole Family, where they have paſſed ſome years ſucceſſively. How many is there of both Sexes who propoſe already the going thither for a conſiderable time, when ever a Peace ſhall be concluded. It is well known that many Lords and Gentlemen have ſpent their whole Eſtates there. It muſt be confeſſed that this curioſity ſo common to our Nation and which ſo much ſavours of licenciouſneſs, is not one of the leaſt misfortunes of our Country, from hence and ſpecially from the voyages into *Italy*, ſpring thoſe Vices and that ſpirit of Prophaneneſs, which reigns ſo much amongſt us. Young Gentlemen are oftentimes ſent to Travel, before they can well ſay their Prayers, or at leaſt before they have learned their Chatechiſm, or can give any account of their Religion, and that which is much to be lamented under mercenary and impious Tutors. So that it is no wonder if they

they contract the Vices of thoſe Countries, and return with ſo little fear of God. But to come back to my ſubject, that I have endeavoured to prove, *viz.* that in time of Peace there were ſeldom leſs than eight thouſand Subjects of the Kingdom of *England* in *France* in the time of Peace; Let us take for granted the ſuppoſition of Sir *William Petty*, and others of our ingenious Countrymen, who by their way of computing, found that there are ten Millions of the King of *Englands* Subjects within theſe three Kingdoms, ſuppoſing one out of every Twelve Hundred to be at the ſame time in *France*, that would amount to Eight Thouſand. Or if you pleaſe to call to mind, That in *England* there are near ten thouſand Pariſhes, and in the two other Kingdoms a great number; ſuppoſe in all the three Kingdoms ſixteen thouſand Pariſhes, taking one man for every two Pariſhes, will likewiſe amount to my propoſed number of eight thouſand. But in ſuch a matter as this, I refer my ſelf to the Reader's judgment.

Object. If any one ſhould by way of objection tell me, That the Nobility of *France* did in like manner travel into *England*: I muſt ſay that would be a very weak reaſon, ſince they were but a ſmall number that came hither, and they did not make any ſtay, unleſs you will put into that rank, a great many Cheats who came over to ſcum the Purſes of our Gameſters, Murtherers who fled from Juſtice; Dancing-Maſters, Quacks, Comedians, Pipers, Barbers, *Valets de Chambre*, Cooks, Spies, Fryers and ſuch Tools, Papiſts for the moſt part, who upon any plauſible pretence or other, promoted the baſe intrigues of the Court of *France*. I confeſs ſome petty Merchants came to ſell their Silks, and French Points, Wine, and Brandy, or ſome prohibited Wares, and to ſettle a confederacy here for the defrauding the King of his Cuſtoms. And I verily believe, that we ſave again in that reſpect ſeveral Hundred Thouſand Pounds that the French Gameſters got from us every year here in *London*.

45. One may think that *France* did likewiſe take abundance of our Commodities; and ſo if on our ſide we gain much by ſaving what we uſed to expend in their Trade, they are alſo gainers on their part,

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part, by taking no more of ours. But there's a great diſparity in the Trade of theſe two Nations. We have ſeen at large that, one way or other, *France* did apparently draw from us more than four Millions of Pounds Sterling of our Money every year. Whereas it appears, not only by the Entries of the *Engliſh* Cuſtoms, but alſo by thoſe of *France*, that what they took of our Merchandize in the year they took moſt, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter, amounted not to one Million of Pounds Sterling, and other years it came to much leſs. And it has been obſerved, That in the year 1669, the Merchandizes they drew from us, came not to above 171021 Pounds Sterling, by the Cuſtom Books. What they took of us in time of Peace, conſiſted in woollen cloth and other woollen-ſtuffs, woollen and ſilk Hoſe, Tin, Lead, Coals, Allum, Indigo, Gall-nuts, ſome Leather and Calves Skins, dry Fiſh, ſome Cotton and Pepper, ſome Horſes, ſome few Knives, and Dear-Gloves. And here we muſt obſerve, That whereas heretofore we had great ſale for our wollen Stuffs, *viz.* to the value of 6 or 7 hundred thouſand Pound Sterling annually, *France* has ſupplanted us in this Manufacture, by the favour ſhe found in the two laſt Reigns, and has continually, as we have ſaid, drawn from us great quantity of our Wooll, as alſo from *Ireland*, which ſhe has imployed to the ruin of this Nation, furniſhing us with our own Wooll manufactured by them: and they more ſucceſsfully to deſtroy our Manufacture and ſet up their own, they had laid exceſſive Cuſtom upon our Stuffs, which came to no leſs for Entry than 50 *per Cent.* which was all one with a Prohibition, and very nigh the like upon ſilk and Woollen-ſtockings and other Merchandize. Tin and Lead ſold there for not above half the price they went at formerly. I have already ſpoken of what they drew formerly from *Ireland*, a Trade very diſadvantagious to us, the principal profit of which accrued to the *French*. They alſo profited much by *Scotland*, from whence they fetcht ſalt Fiſh and a few Coals, whereas the *Scotch* took great quantities of their Wines, Brandy and Manufactures of all ſorts: And 'tis obſervable that whereas our Merchandizes coming into *France* yielded but a moity of what they formerly did to the *Engliſh* Merchant: they to the contrary almoſt every year raiſed the

Cuſtom and Prizes of thoſe we had from them. As for example in Wines, that are taken notice to have doubled their price ſince the year 67, at what time Clarets coſt not above 43 Crowns *per* Tun, clear aboard.

Some may be apt to object, that ſome *French* Merchandizes do come ſtill into *England*, as Luteſtrings and other Commodities ſo that they get ſome of our Money ſtill; I grant it, but it is a ſmall matter in compariſon of what they got before. And I believe there is at leaſt as much of our Commodities exported into *France*, now, as of theirs imported here. And I am afraid they got too much both of ours and of the *Iriſh* this year, eſpecially Corn and Beef, *&c.*

For proof that ſince the year 1663, when Mr. *Fortrey* wrote his Diſcourſe of Trade, there has been imported from *France* more Merchandizes than any time before, and that every year the quantities ſtill increaſed. Some Merchants preſented a Memorial to the Lords Commiſſioners upon a Treaty of Commerce with *France* in the year 74, to that purpoſe, and juſtified it by the Entries at *London*, for example, from *Michaelmas* 1663, to *Michaelmas* 1664, were 6828 Tun of Wine from *France*, and ſo little Brandy that it was not worth ſpeaking of.

From *Michaelmas* 67, to *Michaelmas* 69, there was entred in the Port of *London* for thoſe two years 17000 Tuns of *French* Wine, and about 3000 Tuns of Brandy. From *Michaelmas* 72, to *Mich.* 74, there was entred in the Port of *London* 22900 Tun of *French* Wine, and Brandy in proportion, for in one of thoſe two years from *Mich.* 73, to *Mich.* 74, there was entred in the ſaid Port 5000 Tun of Brandy, and ſo every year more and more, ſo that it is aſſured by credible Authors, that in the year 1676 the Entries in the Port of *London* were 36000 Tun of Wine, whereas in 1650, 51, 52, they came to no more than about 3000 Tun *per annum.* If we eſtimate theſe 36000 Tun of Wine only at 15 *l.* ſterling *per* Tun, which is the leaſt they can well be eſtimated at, 'twill come to more than 7 Millions of *French* Money. What would it be then, if we reckoned the Brandy and Vinegar? And to that was added what came into *Scotland* and *Ireland*: What would it amount to, if we joyned to that what was imported into the reſt of the Ports

of

of *England*, of which there was no mention? And if with that we ſuppoſe that the Entries at *London* were almoſt double in the 3 or 4 years immediately preceding the War, eſpecially the laſt is, wherein there was imported to the value of many Millions of pounds Sterling. There was alſo imported in that year proportionably a great deal more Silks, Linnen, Paper, and other Commodities, than in the times thoſe Merchants lived.

One may alſo ſhew how *France* laid ſtill greater and greater Impoſitions upon the *Engliſh* Commodities.

In the year 1632, the Cuſtom for a Piece of Broad-Cloth was ſix Livers. In the year 44, 'twas 9 Livers, the year 54, 'twas 30 Livers, in 64, 'twas 40 Livers, and notwithſtanding that the *Engliſh* carried ſtill great quantities of Broad-Cloth, but in the year 67, the Duty was ſwell'd to 80 Livers, that is about 50 *per Cent.* continually growing worſe and worſe.

In the year 32, a piece of Serge paid 1 Liver Cuſtom, and each year increaſed ſo, that in the year 67, one piece paid 12 Livers, which was likewiſe about 50 *per Cent.* and the like of other Merchandizes.

So that it is more than probable by all what I have ſaid, that there muſt be much more Money in *England* now than before this War, unleſs one will ſay that there goes 30 or 40 Millions of Livers yearly out of *England* by reaſon of this War. For we have reaſon enough to believe, *France* did draw no leſs, every Year, beſides the Commodities ſhe got from us, I mean in clear Money. Whereas our extravagant Murmurers do not account the ſums of Money iſſued out out of *England* by reaſon of the War, to be above a Million Sterling. Never was any Trade ſo Ruinous to a Nation, as that we had with *France*. I confeſs we are obliged ſtill to fetch ſome Wares of the ſame Nature as they afforded us, from other Nations, but then they take at leaſt as much of ours in Exchange, and we do not lie under ſuch diſadvantages with them. Without repeating here the great Number of Manufactures, wherein we have ſupplanted them, and which will probably remain in our perpetual poſſeſſion, beſides that, I ſay, our Trade is in ſeveral other reſpects, tho' not in all much better even at preſent, than it was be-

fore the War. So that when all things are duly conſidered, neither he maintaining of our Forces in *Flanders*, which do not coſt above Sixty Thouſand Pounds a Month, nor the miſchief of the *French* Men of War, or Privateers, do us, or any other expences made abroad for our Alliances, or otherwiſe, upon the account of this War, can in any ſort counterpoiſe the Reaſons I have produced to prove, That *England* is better ſtored with Money now than 'twas before this War, As for the Money, which is in great quantity deſtroyed by the Gold-Smiths, whoſe Nunbers increaſe daily, it confirms rather what I propoſed, than contradicts it. I ſhould ſay a word of the prodigious quantity of that Metal, which is deſtroyed by the extravagant Luxury of this Age, without which Money would be abundantly more plentiful than it is, in Fringes, Galoons, and other Stuffs of Gold and Silver, but I forbear, becauſe that piece of folly was in in uſe as well before this War, as now.

I ſhall only add to what I ſaid already, ſome Maximes. But before I come to theſe, I cannot forbear anſwering a very plauſible Objection which takes with a great many of the common People of *London*, and eſpecially thoſe about *Weſtminſter*, which is this. They think, Money is not ſo common, becauſe they do not ſell as dear, nor ſo many things, or have not ſo much work, or ſo many Lodgers as before the War. But it does not follow from thence, That there ſhould be leſs Money in *England*; There might poſſibly be leſs about *Weſtminſter* than before, but not leſs in the Kingdom. Neither ſhould the conſequence be neceſſary, That becauſe they ſell leſs, and at a leſſer price, or work leſs, or have fewer Lodgers, Money ſhould therefore be more ſcarce about *Weſtminſter*. For 'tis poſſible that there might be more Sellers, Handicrafts, Tradeſmen, Houſe-keepers, than there are Buyers and others that ſet Men at Work, or Lodgers; or elſe, that many Wares being made here, which were not made before, but came from *France*, the Shop-keeper gets leſs, becauſe the price and value of them is better known. It may be alſo, That the Number of Tradeſmen and Houſe-keepers is multiplyed more than that of Buyers or Lodgers. And indeed theſe Reaſons are partly the cauſe of it, beſides ſeveral others which follow. 1. Many People had formerly from *France* ſeveral ſorts of

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wares, as I ſaid before, which others do make and ſell themſelves now; the firſt complain, the laſt are ſilent, or rather they complain alſo, becauſe the Commodities do not ſell ſo dear, as uſually when it came from *France*, which is very unjuſt. They have before their eyes ſome examples of People that got great Eſtates Twenty or Thirty Years ago by the ſame Trades, and they lament becauſe the Profits are much leſs now. By that reaſon, Gentlemen and Ladies and every one that buy ſuch things cheaper than heretofore, have a great advantage, and ſo it is good in general to the Nation, who is thereby ſecured from all Importation of ſuch things from abroad, and inabled to ſend out many ſuch things to the Foreign Countries, by underſelling others, as in effect they do. 2. It is certain, the Hawkers and Pedlers do a great prejudice to the Shopkeepers at this end of the Town, becauſe by their not being at the charge of keeping Houſes or Shops, and living in Cellers or Garrets, they may afford their Commodities cheaper. 3. The number of Houſes and Shops grows prodigiouſly, & they are built larger and better than they uſed to be, which ruins both Houſe and Shopkeepers, whoſe numbers multiply much more than either that of Lodgers or Buyers, as I ſaid already. So that Houſes and Shops are not only more numerous, but larger and dearer; and yet the Merchandizes cheaper for all there are few Buyers and Lodgers. I did wonder for my part a hundred times, how they could hold out ſo long. 'Tis not the War that cauſes it, unleſs it by the ſuperfluity of Money that invites people to build ſo many Houſes, and the Country people to come to the Town and take a Houſe or a Shop for to live in idleneſs, after they have got ſome Money in the Country. I am cetain, that if ſo be the Nation continues in that Spirit of Building, the complaints will be ſtill greater in time of Peace, and then they ſhall not accuſe the War, but ſhall find ſome other reaſons. There are in *London* and *Weſtminſter* Shops enough to ſerve all the Cities, Towns and Boroughs in *England*. I dare ſay, more than are in half of the Cities of the Kingdom of *France*, including *Paris*. 4. Another reaſon why Money ſeems to be not ſo plentiful, is, That in ſuch a time as this, there are always a great many who fearing the events of ſuch an important War, retrench their expences and hoard up

Money

Money, eſpecially thoſe that are diſaffected to the preſent Government, as *Jacobites*, *Papiſts*, and others. There is no doubt alſo, but in time of the Campagne, when the King is abſent, and ſo many Noblemen and Officers by Sea and Land, and others retire into the Country; I ſay, there is no doubt, but this does ſome prejudice to this end of the Town, that has greater dependence on the Court: but in the Winter-time, when the King is at home, and the Parliament ſits, they are better contented. 6. Many of the Nobility and Gentry have endured great loſſes in *Ireland*, by the War in that Country, which cannot live ſo ſplendidly as before. 7. No doubt alſo but many may be indiſpoſed by the Taxes, not to ſpend altogether as much as they did before the War; and yet it is ſaid, that the Farmers pay better now than they did, and that the Rents of the Lands increaſe, which is a kind of compenſation for the Taxes. For both are occaſioned by this War. 8. Some Merchants alſo gaining leſs ſpend leſs 9. The dearneſs of Bread at preſent, makes the times ſeem harder to many than they would otherwiſe. There may be ſome other reaſon which I do not apprehend, of the apparent ſcarcity of Money; but certainly, 'tis only an apparent ſcarcity, and not a real one, as to the Kingdom in general. For how many Manufacturers are there who thrive better now than in time of Peace? How many Officers by Sea and Land, who had ſcarcely Bread before, that live now handſomely? How many Trades more flouriſhing, that were almoſt uſeleſs before. As to the Farmers and Country-people, who are the bulk of the Nation, who can deny that they fare better than before, and have more Money? No doubt but ſome Towns and Countries in *England* may be more ſenſible of that proſperity than others: as for example, *Portſmouth*, and the adjacent Country, and ſome other Sea Towns.

But to the end that this Point may be unqueſtionally proved, I ſhall add theſe four Maxims.

1*ſt*. That in all Countries of the World, 'tis an uncontroverted Maxim, that when a Nation builds many more Houſes than there are falling or fallen, then it is an undeniable evidence of the proſperity of that Nation, and of its abounding in Money. 'Tis juſt the

the caſe of *England* now, and the contrary in *France*, where no new Houſes have been built theſe five or ſix years, tho perhaps the half of the Houſes of that Kingdom are falling to ruin. But I foreſee ſome will ſay, That this is not the queſtion which I propoſed at firſt, that it is indeed a ſign of plenty of Money in *England*, but not that it is more plentiful than it was before the War, ſince as many Houſes were built before in the late King's time, as are now. Many will affirm, that more are built now than under King *James*'s Reign; but I do not ſtick to that. I inſiſt only upon this, that for the building of as many Houſes in the time of ſuch a War as this, as in time of Peace, more Money is requiſite; becauſe the wants of the War muſt be ſupplied, firſt with part of that Money, and then ſome part of the overplus is imployed in Buildings: which two things being done at one and the ſame time, and the Money paſſing through ſuch different hands, evidences, that there muſt be more Money than before; and that is yet confirmed by what I ſaid before, that it is undeniably certain, that a great number of wealthy men well ſtored with Money, treaſure it up at ſuch a time as this, and do not let it run as before.

One muſt not ſay, that it is want of Trade that occaſions the building of ſo many Houſes. For it is not the Merchants who build Houſes commonly, as that objection ſeems to ſuppoſe; ſo far from that, That it is ſome of them that complain of the interruption of Trade. Now if they did beſtow their Money upon building of Houſes, they ſhould not be able to imploy it in Trade, and conſequently would not complain of the want of Trade.

2*ly*, The greater facility there is in a Nation in finding Money to borrow, the greater is the plenty of Money commonly ſuppoſed to be: ſo it is now with *England*. The King and Parliament do borrow more Money now, and with greater facility, than ever was done in *England* under any other Reign, in reſpect of the great Sums they want and borrow, and that is done without any force or violence offered to any, and not as is uſual in *France*, where the King borrows *extorquendo*, with intention never to pay again: which differs only in name from Robbery. And as to the private Men here in *England*, no doubt but the Lands yield them greater Rents, and bet-

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ter paid than before the War, the owners may find Money to borrow more eaſily alſo. It is quite contrary with *France*, for lending is quite out of faſhion there: No good will is wanting for borrowing, but only for lending: Their King indeed does borrow, as I ſaid, but by forcing, as others rob; but now with all his skill he can hardly find where. And this obſervation about the facility of finding Money here for the King and Parliament, is the more to be taken notice of, That a conſiderable part of the wealthy ones do lend very little or nothing at all to the King, as for example, the *Jacobites* and *Papiſts*, and *Quakers*; yea, and even many well affected Perſons, but too timorous, who as well as thoſe I named juſt now, lay up Money, not altogether to the ſame ends, but only for fear of the dubious events of the War.

3. Here is a Third Maxim no leſs certain, which is, That when a Nation has plenty of all things, and has withal a better vent of all the Commodities of it's own Production, and of it's Manufactures, without the leſs ſcarcity in any thing, 'tis an infallible ſign of a great proſperity, and that Money is more copious than before. It's ſo now with *England*. I ſpoke enough already of the Manufactures; it's certain alſo that all the Productions of the growth of *England* are plentiful, and ſell at a better Rate than in time of Peace. As, for example, Cattle, Oxen, Cows, Horſes, Sheep, Hogs, all ſorts of Grain and Corn, Butter, Cheeſe, Wool, Leather, Hops, Copper, Tin, Lead, Iron, Salt, Glaſs, Fiſh, Coals, and all ſorts of Woollen Stuffs, *&c.* If any kind of thoſe Commodities has not increaſed in Price, it is worth at leaſt as much as uſually, and the reſt brings more Money to the Vender. I confeſs, That in *France*, all their Commodities are alſo very much dearer than they uſed to be; but it is well known alſo, that it proceeds from meer ſcarcity, and it's certain too that if Money was as common there, as 'tis in *England*, things would be two or three times dearer than they are, ſuch is the ſcarcity of all things neceſſary for the Suſtenance of Man's life; and 'tis only for the uſe of the Natives, whereas Strangers carry thoſe things away from us for Money. It were highly to be wiſhed, that there were in this Kingdom the ſame proſperity as to Piety and Vertue.

4*thly.*

4. Neither is this Maxim leſs infalible, *viz.* That when the number of Manufactures and Manufacturers, and all other ſorts of Handicrafts and Workmen increaſe in a Nation, and that withal their Wages and Salaries do not decay, but rather augment, it is an vndeniable Argument, that there is already a greater quantity of Money than there was before, which will ſtill increaſe more and more: 'tis ſo with *England*. The multitude of Manufacturers and Handicrafts increaſe, and their Wages withal do not decreaſe. Ergo, *England* grows Richer and better ſtored with Money than before. As for *France*, all the Manufactures are at a low Ebb, and the Salleries and Wages of thoſe that hold out ſtill are decreaſed by half in half. Thoſe four Maxims are I trow without exception, and tho only one of them ſhould agree with the preſent State of *England*, I ſhould think to have ſufficiently proved the matter in hand: but all four perfectly agreeing with it, a man muſt be more than obſtinate, eſpecially after all the other evidences I have brought in beſides, to deny that there is more Money at preſent in this Kingdom than before the War.

I will add theſe two things further, That Money being ſo ſcarce in *France*, where it was ſo wonderfully plentiful ſome years ago: 'Tis likely that *England* muſt be better provided with it; as it is certain that while the *French* had ſuch plenty of it, were ſo well provided with it, we were in a much worſe condition in that reſpect, juſt as in a Ballance, when one ſide riſes, the other falls. This is the Firſt thing,

The Second is, That as to *London* in particular, the number of Houſes increaſing every day, and the old ones being rebuilt ſtronger and larger than before, the Rent of all the Houſes taken together and in bulk, augments very much yearly; I dare ſay, it increaſes about twenty or thirty thouſand Pounds Sterling *per annum*: I mean that they produce as much this year to the Owners above the Rent of the laſt year, and will yield the next as much above the Rent they yielded this, and ſo forth, till the Nation grows diſguſted at it, and the ſpirit of building departs from them; or elſe, That the Parliament puts a ſtop to it. If it be ſo then, That the Rent augments ſo prodigiouſly, there muſt be an increaſe of Money in *Lon-*

don proportionably, tho people do not judge ſo. As for *France*, it is no wonder Money ſhould be ſo ſcarce among them, and that the Nation ſhould be reduced to ſuch a calamity, as all the Letters from each Province of that Kingdom do make it evident; whereof ſome ſay that their King will be forced next year to raiſe the values of his Coin by half. There is much more cauſe to admire how he could find ſo much Money in his Kingdom, and hold out ſo long, being deprived of all Commerce both within and without; having loſt all his Manufactures, and ſo vaſt a number of Subjects by the Perſecution, with innumerable Sums ('tis probable they may amount to about Forty Millions of Livers) which they brought out of the Kingdom before the War, and continue to bring ſome daily; beſides many Hundred Thouſand Men he has loſt by this War. We have in truth great cauſe to wonder by what he has done with the prodigious quantity of Money which was in *France* ten years ago. For it is very like, That by that Perſecution he drove away above a Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Perſons (ſuppoſe that every Perſon has brought along with him, one with another, three Hundred Livers, it will come to Forty Five Millions of Livers) and by theſe five years continuance of the War, Two Hundred Millions of Money have been conveyed out of that Kingdom, one way or another. As for example, It is generally believed there comes out every year between 15 or 18 Millions only in Horſes, and we may well ſuppoſe it to be the leaſt, eſpecially this two or three years. The publick News inform us that by one Article alone the *Jews* of *Metz* have made a Treaty with the *French* King for 30000 Horſe, this year to begotten from Foreign Countries; & it is not the half of the number they muſt have from thence, for Equipages and Baggages of the Generals and Officers or Horſe, Foot and Dragoons, and the Tents of the Regiments. As alſo, for the remounting the Cavalry and Dragoons, beſides the Artillery and the Proviſions. I ſaid, it is thought they got 60000 Thouſand good ſerviceable Horſes from abroad, beſides as many which the Territory of *France* furniſhes yearly, That is in all, ſixſcore thouſand Recruit-Horſes or Mules every year, which is about half the number that is in all the Armies, ſo many perhaps do not dye every year in the Armies. But thoſe that are become unfit for that ſervice are included in the number:

ber; Now if you eſteem them to be worth a Hundred Crowns a piece one with another, the 60000 thouſand forementioned will amount to 18 Millions of Livers, or reckon them only at two hundred and fifty Livers a piece, it will come to 15 Millions. I mean 60000 thouſand Horſes fit to mount a Cavalier at leaſt for the ſmall ones are not mentioned in the number.

He paieth great Sums to the *Turks*, as alſo to Count *Teckely*.

He is uſed to lay great Sums for the maintenance of his Correſpondencies, and Spyes in Foreign Countries, and for bribing the Officers of Princes.

He is obliged to pay every year conſiderable ſums to the *Switzers* for to continue in his Alliance, as alſo for the Troops they furniſh him with, beſides what he may give to ſome neutral Princes.

He has theſe late years been at great charges about his intrigues at *Rome*, inſomuch that it is reported the Marquis *de la Vardin*, who was his Embaſſador there in the late Pope's Reign, did ſpend yearly two hundred thouſand Crowns of his own in order to ſerve his Maſter the better, by which he waſted a great part of his Eſtate. Neither muſt we forget the high Penſions, which the Cardinals and other Prelates of the *French* Faction do get from the *French* King, beſides the *French* Cardinals who are continually at *Rome*, without mentioning the uſual Tribute, which they call *les deniers de S. Pierre*, That is, S. *Peters pence*, or the ſervitude Money, which the Pope gets annually from *France*, under ſeveral names: As for the Annates, Bulls, Diſpenſations for Sin, *&c.* which amount yearly to ſome Millions of Livers, perhaps to as much, as the *French* King may extort by the Contributions from his Enemies Territories.

There goe alſo not inconſiderable ſums out of *France* to *Maltha* every year for the maintenance of the *French* Commanders and Knights who are there.

The Gariſon of *Cazal* is alſo an extream charge to the *French*, and that amounts ſome years to above a Million of Livers, all ſpent in *Italy*. *Pignerol* in like manner, before the War was declared by the D. of *Savoy*, was a great charge, for *France* bought very dear all her Proviſions for thoſe two places, out of *Piedmont*, *Mountferrat* and *Milan*.

The *French* for theſe two laſt years, have procured themſelves abundance of Corn out of Foreign Countries, which muſt needs have deprived them of great ſums of Money; beſides the great quantities they ſtill continue to get.

They alſo lay out ſince this War great ſums for their Naval Proviſions, they get from the North, which is an infinite charge to them, by reaſon of their great Fleets, and that they are very far from the Baltick Sea, and that paſſing near *England* and *Holland* their Ships may be taken. When Wines and Brandy were plentifull in *France*, they could give them in exchange, but theſe two years all muſt be paid in clear Money.

There comes alſo out of *France* great ſums for the uſe of their Frontier Towns, which are ſupplied in a great many things, from the *Spaniſh Netherlands* and from *Liege*, notwithſtanding the Confederates Prohibitions, and eſpecially in Corn and dry Fiſh.

We muſt not doubt likewiſe but all the Refugees which are diſperſed all over *Europe* do get abundance of Money from *France* every year. (It matters not whether it be by Bills of Exchange or by any other way, for it comes all to one.) Beſides thoſe that daily come out from thence; even ſeveral Papiſts who ſave themſelves where they can.

Beſides all this, it is generally believed, That ten Millions of Gold and Silver are yearly deſtroyed in *France*, in Gold and Silver Galoons and Fringes, as alſo in Gold and Silver Stuffs, without reckoning the making, and what is ſaved out of theſe things by burning them after they are worn: That is to ſay, ten Millions of evident loſs upon the metal which falls in the Duſt, or which comes to Aſhes, for the *French* King will have all the Officers of his Armies both high and low, together with all his Houſehold to be covered with it, the Court, and alſo every man who has any Eſtate do imitate the ſame; beſides, the Ladies whoſe vanity exceeds all bounds: and at this very time when the Kingdom is ſcourged with the three plagues of God, their folly is ſtill the ſame.

It

It is alſo certain that ſeing *France* has not any freedom of Trade, except a little in the Mediterranean Sea, they are at great charges in imploying Foreign Ships, to bring them the Commodities they ſtand in need of, ſuch as the *Swedes*, *Danes*, *Portugueſes*, *and Genoueſes*, &c. I confeſs that *England* alſo is at ſome charges upon that ſame account, but much leſs than the *French*; becauſe our Commerce being greater, and the *Dutch* often joyning, we commonly give Convoys to Numbers of Ships which Sail in Company.

The Money which is yet remaining in that Kingdom goes all towards the Frontiers for the Payment of their Troops, ſo that the inward Provinces are quite exhauſted; by reaſon that the Money is continually taken out without returning. Thoſe Provinces being too remote from the Frontiers, ſo that they furniſh them with little or no Merchandizes. They are not only drained by the enormous Taxes which the King forces them to Pay, but alſo becauſe all the Nobility and Gentry, except thoſe that are incapable of it by their Age or any other Infirmity, are ſerving in the Armies, and that the Wages of thoſe in the Service are not ſufficient to keep and maintain them, being ſo mean, and that eſpecially becauſe of the dearneſs of Victuals both in the Armies and in the Frontiers, which make their Reſpective Fathers, Mothers, or Wives or Guardians, ſend them out of the Province all the Money they can make up: it is reckoned that in all that King's Armies there are above Forty Thouſand Officers, comprehending the Cadets, Life-Guards, Muſqueteers, Light-Horſes and Gensdarmes and other diſtinguiſhed Troops of that King's Houſehold, who cannot live by their ſmall Wages; beſides this all the great Lords, Biſhops and other fat Church-men, who enjoy great Livings, do ſeldom live in the Country, and ſo their Revenue is carried to *Paris*; and as the Nobility and Gentry is overlaid with Debts their Creditors muſt be contented with a Paper from the King called Letters *d'Etat*, by which is declared to the Creditor, that whereas ſuch a one has a Son or a Husband in the King's Service, he is diſcharged from paying any thing, during the ſame Perſons Service, ſo that all the Money is imployed in the King's Service in the Armies. And beſides all that, as I have already ſaid, all Commerce and Manufactures are down,

beſides

beſides the great Scarcity of Wine, Corn, and other Fruits this Year. From whence then ſhould the Money come?

I acknowledg indeed that ſeveral of thoſe wayes of expence I named before, by which Money is conveyed out, were in *France* before this War. As the Tribute exacted by the Pope. That *Maltha*, *Pignerol*, *Cazal*, the *Switſers* and other States and Princes were uſed to get much from *France*, as well as the King's Penſionaries and Spyes in Foreign Courts; that their Naval Proviſions from the North did coſt them conſiderable Sums, *&c.* But beſides that they did not ſpend any Money or little in Foreign Horſes, the *Turk* did not get ſo much from them, and the *Switſers* and other Neutral Princes had undoubtedly leſſer Subſidies. Their Sea-Magazines were not ſo chargeable neither; they had then plenty of Corn, Tallow, Leather, Wooll, dry Fiſh and other Proviſions; and were not forced to get them from others for Money. Beſides all this, I ſay, *France* was not exhauſted both by a dreadful Perſecution, and by a violent War, for the time of Six Years, with ſo many Potent Kingdoms and States united againſt her. *France* was in that time a Flouriſhing Kingdom, where all ſorts of Trade and Manufactures were in Vigor, a Populous Country abounding with Money, well Cultivated, full alwayes of Foreign Nobility, who brought thither all the Wealth and Riches of their own Countries. Money did then circulate in all the Provinces, the Nobility and Gentry were abiding there. Whereas now 'tis quite the contrary. All the Money is gone; all the incomes as well Publick as Private are come to nothing, and the expences increaſed, no Trade at all, no Work for the People, few Men left, and yet new Exorbitant Taxes to pay, and without Bread.

I confeſs that by the Contributions he Raiſes upon the Territories of ſome of the Confederates, he may get 3 or 4 Millions of Livers yearly. But ſometimes he Pays as much to them, as eſpecially this Year. 'Tis true alſo, that it is not ſo much he that is at a loſs by it, as the poor Inhabitants of thoſe Countrys; for he would not for all that abate a Farthing of all the Taxes he lays upon them.

But what is Three or Four Millions! Thoſe Contributions are a very ſmall Compenſation to him for the decays of his ordinary

ordinary Revenues in the Conquered Lands. The yearly Revenues of *Alſatia*, *Lorrain*, *Franche-Comte*, *Luxemburgh*, *Artois*, *Cambreſis*, *Hainault*, and the *French Flanders*, are mightily fallen ſince the War: 'tis true the Common-people being uncapable of paying the uſual Taxes, he does Plunder and Rob from thoſe that are more able: And in the great Towns, notwithſtanding the extraordinary and exorbitant impoſitions, without any regard to the deſolation cauſed by his Troops, Money indeed is plentiful, but Victuals are exceſſive dear, and their Lands deſtitute of Cattle, and untilled for the moſt part, becauſe the *French* Horſe do conſume all the Forrage.

I grant alſo, That King *James* with his Adherenets in *France* may get ſome Money from *England*. But who can make any doubt, but that the Refugees here, as I inſinuated before, may get as much from *France* annually, beſides thoſe that come over every day, amongſt which there are always ſome who bring ſome thing along with them. I mention only thoſe that are here, or that daily come over.

We do not hear, That any Foreign Nation lends any ſums to the *French* King, but we know certainly that the *Dutch* have ſent ſeveral Millions into the *Exchequer*, as well as the Refugees who live in *Holland*, which helps ſomething to the making Money to be more plentiful here in *England*. Thoſe two Articles I had omitted before, which are not inconſiderable, for they bring much Money in.

By all thoſe reaſons, I am perſwaded the *French* King will be forced to raiſe very much the value of his Coin, the next year, unleſs he obtains a Peace from the Allies this Winter; but 'tis likely he will make his utmoſt endeavours for it; whether by attacking ſeveral places in *Flanders* before the Spring, to try whether he may force them to it by that means; or by offering to make a reſtitution of all the Uſurpations he has made ſince the *Pyrenean* Treaty, and by giving a full ſatisfaction to *England*, which would be the moſt compendious and ſafeſt way, to ſave all his People, which is ready to periſh utterly by Famine and other Calamities.

As

As for the Prizes the *French* take from us at Sea, if you except ſome few Ships, where conſiderable Sums have been found in Money or Golden Pouder, the other Prizes do not bring any money to the *French*: All the effect they produce, is, that their own Commodities of the ſame Nature are cheaper, and by that means, if one of them gains, the other loſes, as it is here with us, when ſome of our Ships are taken, the Owners loſe, but others get by it, becauſe they have a better vent of their Commodities of the ſame nature, and ſometimes the very ſame man that loſes a Ship, having a good quantity of the ſame Goods in his Store-houſe, ſells it better than he would have done otherwiſe, if the Ship loſt were arrived ſafely; and ſo he is in a manner indemnified. We don't hear they ſell their Prizes to any other Nation, for who ſhould buy them? We have a free Trade with them all, but not with the *French*. I confeſs that ſome ſmall Ships have been redeemed for a Ranſom from them, but it is an inconſiderable matter. Their Privateers do indeed diſturb both our and the *Dutch*'s Trade, and ſome of them may make a good Fortune, when there is money or Gold, or Silver in Bars or Powder to be found; but they do very little or no good to *France* in general. The Prizes they take from us may indeed deprive us of ſome money, when they conſiſt in ſuch Foreign Commodities imported, which we cannot well ſpare, and ſo are obliged to get the like again. But then, on the other ſide, it ſaves us money, becauſe the fear of the ſame Privateers reſtrains the Merchant from bringing or importing many ſuperfluous things, which may very well be ſpared, and makes the ſame Commodities riſe ſo much in price, That leſs is waſted thereof: Beſides that, it cauſes many of our Productions or Manufactures to riſe in value, and ſo is an incouragement to many. The greateſt miſchief the *French* Privateers or Men of War have done to the Nation in general ſince this War (for I do not conſider her particular men, nor even Companies loſſes, tho I Reſent and Pitty them very much, but only the General and National) is this, That our Silk and Camel-hair Manufactures ſuffer this year, and that ſome Merchants money may be leſs Currant, and the Cuſtom-Houſes may now and then bring leſs money to the King; Importation being leſs than it was before

before. But, as I have plainly ſhewn, we are abundantly recompenſed for thoſe and all other loſſes, by the great advantages we enjoy.

If any body having not examined things as I have, ſhould judge I am exceſſive or defective in the Sums of money, or in the numbers of men or Horſes which I tell here and there, in relation to the *Engliſh* or *French* Nation, he is at liberty to, add to or take off as much as he pleaſes, rather than to quarrel with me upon that, for I have ſet it as I judge it in Conſcience, after a long conſideration of things, and there is not one Article but I undertake to make it good, as much as ſuch things can be proved, and I have good Authorities and Reaſons for it.

I will finiſh this Diſcourſe with a remark upon God's bleſſing upon this Nation, which is this; That God has made uſe of the poor *French* Refugees for enriching this Kingdom with the greateſt part of the Manufactures above mentioned, as a reward of the Chriſtian Charity and Hoſpitality uſed towards them; and as I ſuppoſe they have a true thankfulneſs for their Benefactors: So 'tis mightily to be wiſhed, That the ſame bowels of compaſſion of thoſe that are in Authority, ſhould be moved at this time to continue their charities towards ſo many hundreds of the ſame Refugees, who living formerly upon good Eſtates in their own Country, have not learnt any Trades, or being old and infirm, cannot work at all, and ſuffer, (as I am rightly informed) very much through hunger and cold. I hope alſo, That many of our common ſort of People, who ſay the Refugees take away the bread from their Mouths, will conſider hereafter, That among thoſe poor people who live upon Charity, or by the labour of their hands, many others have brought conſiderable Sums of Money hither, which are beneficial to the Kingdom: others have taught the *Engliſh* to make thoſe new Manufactures, upon which ſo many thouſands get their livelihood, and for that reaſon deſerve we ſhould be kind to them: So doing, God will continue to bleſs us all, as we ſee he puniſhes even now in this World the inhumanity and cruelty of *France*, and rewards the beneficency of *England* towards thoſe poor Chriſtians.

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